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ABSTRACT

This study examines the idea that a major aspect of improving the effectiveness of schools hinges on obtaining a better understanding of what it is that makes teachers effective. The researchers surveyed university students in Botswana (n=54), Zimbabwe (n=54), and the United States (n=70) who were training to be teachers and asked them what they remembered of their own primary teachers. The study sought to identify characteristics associated with effective and ineffective teachers. The researchers were interested particularly in the extent to which any cross-cultural differences would be revealed in the students' responses. Among the outcomes of the study, it was found that U.S. students tended to place more importance on personality skills as a measure of teacher effectiveness, while students from Botswana and Zimbabwe tended to give greater weight to instructional skills. An 18-item list of references is included. (DB)

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WHAT MAKES A GOOD TEACHER: PERCEPTIONS OF EFFECTIVE AND INEFFECTIVE PRIMARY TEACHERS IN BOTSWANA, ZIMBABWE AND THE U.S.

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It seems clear that in any analysis of the effects which schools or schooling have on children, the individual teacher must figure prominently. Beyond questions of curriculum, facilities, textbooks or teaching materials is the individual teacher who holds ultimate responsibility for implementation of the educational program. It has been well said that "curriculum is what happens when the teacher walks into a classroom with students and closes the door." Discussion of school quality, then, must at some point, involve discussion of the teacher and the act of teaching.

The essence of good teaching has been debated for centuries from Socrates (though not necessarily beginning even there) to the modem age. There are, for example those who would argue that teaching is, first of all, an "art" (see e.g. Eisner, 1983), while others prefer to use the language of "science" (e.g. Baker, 1984). A survey of the literature on improving teaching or effective teaching reveals three broadly defined general approaches toward improvement of teaching. There is first of all, the preponderate literature which focuses on instructional matters and teaching methodologies. Here, the essence of effective teaching appears to be in the area broadly defined as instruction, with a resultant focus on teaching strategies and methods. The general assumption made here seems to be that the better teacher is the one who has chosen and implemented the best method or approach for the subject and class at hand (see e.g. Kourilsky & Quaranta, 1987; Hudgins. 1970, Orlich, et al,1985).

A second broad tradition in improvement of teaching is represented by those who focus on techniques for classroom management and establishing a positive classroom environment (see e.g. Asiedu-Akrofi. 1981; Talmage. et al, I 984; Veenman, 1984; Hurt, et al, 1978). While this tradition does

not in any way discount the importance of good instruction it nevertheless assumes that the climate which prevails in a classroom will have a significant impact on the effectiveness of the instruction which takes place there.

The third broad tradition is that which focuses on teachers as persons and on the relationships which they develop with their students. The research of Rosenthal (Rosenthal, et al, 1968), for example, falls into this category. This research inspired a series of related investigations with its findings on the effects of teacher expectancies. More recently, Hawkins, et al (1988) investigated conditions under which the "social bonding" of low achieving students could be improved. Those writers/researchers from the so-called "Humanistic Education", whose roots and development can be variously traced to persons such as Dewey (1933), Neill (1960), Holt(1964),Goodman(1964) and Rogers(1969) should doubtless also be included in this broad tradition, though there is obvious overlap with some of the previously mentioned ones. The working premise of this tradition is that the person of the teacher and the relationship which s/he develops with the students is a critical component of effectiveness, though it might be observed in passing that many of these persons would be unhappy with a definition of school effectiveness which focussed mainly on the academic.

With respect to any literature dealing with a comparison of teacher effectiveness in a trans-national context, Treffers (1987) found that American prospective teachers place greater stress on "pupil oriented qualities" when defining an effective teacher, while the Netherlands counterpart place more emphasis on "task oriented qualities" such as classroom management and teaching process concerns. The Netherland students placed much less emphasis on developing healthy student/teacher interpersonal relationships. No literature could be found which dealt with prospective teachers' views in developed and developing countries on the same question.

Purpose of the study

This study assumes the importance of the teacher. It assumes, further, that a major aspect of improving the effectiveness of schools hinges on obtaining a better understanding of what it is that makes teachers effective. The study is a cross-cultural investigation of the ways in which students in primary Teacher Training in a developed(USA) and two developing countries(Botswana and Zimbabwe) remember the teachers who taught them while they were in primary school. More specifically. it investigates a number of characteristics which are associated with teachers who were remembered to be particularly effective or ineffective; and explores the extent to which certain characteristics appear

to have contributed to that teacher's perceived effectiveness or ineffectiveness. It is further interested in the extent to which these perceptions tend to fall into any of the broad traditions for improving teaching noted above. The study is deliberately based on the admittedly personalistic recollections of the respondents own primary school experiences. Without exception, the participants in the study attended primary school some number of years ago. Thus, the findings may be interpreted as reflecting what is, in all likelihood, a somewhat selective process of remembering in which the respondents were engaged, and to some extent, as what these primary teachers-in-training have come to value in primary teachers.

Finally, the study was particularly interested in the extent to which any cross-cultural differences would be revealed in the students' responses. Specific attention was given to the results of an earlier study that American views toward effective teaching would stress student/teacher interpersonal relationships while prospective teachers from a different cultural setting would stress task oriented skills.

This study is an exploratory one which seeks to identify factors in teacher effectiveness which may be explored further in subsequent investigation. Thus, it is intended, first of all. to facilitate further research rather than put forward "hard" conclusions. It is also hoped that the findings may prove useful to those concemed with the preparation and education of prospective teachers in terms of developing curricula and developing training priorities.

Methodology

Participants

The Botswana participants in the study were students enrolled in the Department of Primary Education at the University of Botswana, the Zimbabwe participants were students at Marymount Teachers College and past students at the University of Zimbabwe in Harare, and the U.S. participants were upper division students who would soon be entering the pre-service elementary school teacher program at San Diego State University. All of the Botswana students were experienced primary school teachers, about half of the Zimbabwe participants were experienced while their American counterparts were without any teaching experience.

The Botswana students held a Primary Teaching qualification prior to their entry into the degree program. Almost seventy-seven percent of the Botswana students gave their highest level of education as the Junior Certificate(two years of college instruction) while the remaining twenty-three percent had successfully completed the General Certificate of Education (a four year college program). Nineteen of the respondents were in the first year of the program at the university while twenty-one and fourteen were in their third and fourth years respectively. The Zimbabwe participants very closely reflected the Botswana participants with respect to educational level and teaching experience.

Sixty-eight percent of the Botswana respondents were female and eighty-seven percent of the total indicated that they were between 30 and 49 years of age. In all, a total of fifty-four Botswana students participated.

The American students, as indicated earlier, had no teaching experience, but were planning on entering an elementary teacher education program. All were close to earning their B.A. In contrast to the Botswana subjects, the sex of the respondents was almost evenly divided between male(48%) and female(52%). The American respondents, who totaled seventy, were clearly younger than the other two groups with 85% being younger than 30.

The Zimbabwe students totaled 54 with 36 or 67% being male, and a majority (61%) were younger than 30.

Table One

Demographics of Participants

	Botswana		U.S.		Zimbabwe	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Sex						
Male	17	32%	12	17%	36	67%
Female	37	68%	58	83%	18	33%
Total	54	100%	70	100%	54	100%
Age						
15-19	0	0%	1	1%	0	0%
20-29	7	13%	59	84%	33	61%
30-39	47	87%	8	11%	19	35%
40-49	0	0%	2	3%	2	4%
50+	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	54	100%	70	100%	54	100%

Instrumentation

A questionnaire was distributed which asked respondents, as a first step. to mentally identify. among their own primary school teachers, the specific teacher whom they considered to have been the most effective. They were then asked to indicate relevant demographic information about this teacher such as their sex, the standard in which they had had them. the teacher's approximate age at that time, whether or not they thought the person was qualified and, if so, at what level. Next, they were asked to rank-order fourteen different teacher characteristics in terms of the importance of each toward making this particular teacher especially effective.

Since all instruction at the University of Botswana and in Zimbabwe is in English, the questionnaire was in English for all three groups of participants. The questionnaire was originally developed in Botswana and slightly modified for use in the USA and Zimbabwe. It was not felt that the modification contributed to any confusion or misinterpretation; in fact, any change in the original questionnaire were made only to lessen or eliminate any American confusion.

When respondents had completed this section of the questionnaire they were asked to repeat the entire process, but this time with reference to their most ineffective teacher.

It was intended that by asking them to personalize these individuals some of the tendency toward "idealizing" their most effective and ineffective teachers into stereotypical categories may have been minimized. In other words, it was hoped in this way to minimize in so far as possible, any tendency of the respondents to respond on the basis of a possible internalized "ideal type" of good and poor teachers. Nevertheless, it remains likely that many respondents may have "idealized" their memories to some extent, hence their responses should be clearly understood as being "refracted" through the respondents own particular "prism of experience." To that extent the responses should be understood first of all, as perceptions of the respondents rather than as necessarily factual descriptions of particular teachers and may furthermore, as observed earlier, be a reflection of what it is that these teachers-in-training value and discount in the behaviour of primary teachers.

The teacher characteristics which were ranked by the respondents consisted of fourteen statements each of which could be classified into one of three categories

corresponding to the three broad "improvement of teaching traditions" noted above. These were Instruction variables (five), Personality/Relationship variables (five), and Class Management variables (four). The statements from each of the categories were presented in random order on the questionnaire. The same fourteen characteristics were presented twice; once for ranking in terms of effective teachers and once for ranking in terms of ineffective teachers. In each case they were instructed to rank them with regard to how important those characteristics were in their perceptions of the chosen teachers. In the case of the effective teachers. the statements were usually presented in a positive form while for the ineffective teachers, the statements were presented in a negative form where appropriate.

Findings

Descriptive/Demographic

There were statistically significant ($p = <.05$) differences between the teachers who were remembered to be effective and the teachers who were remembered to be ineffective for each of the descriptive/demographic variables included. Furthermore, the cross-cultural analysis also revealed major differences in some instances and yet many similarities in other comparisons. Tables One through Five show these results.

Table Two

Percentage of Effective Teachers by Sex and by Country

	Botswana		U.S.		ZIMBABWE	
	N	% of Column	N	% of Column	N	% of Column
Male	41	76%	21	30%	45	83%
Female	13	24%	49	70%	9	17%
Total	54	100%	70	100%	54	100%

It is clear from Table Two that the Botswana and Zimbabwe respondents are more likely to have remembered their most effective teachers to have been male (76% and 83%) while for Botwana their most ineffective teachers (Table Three) are remembered to have been about equally divided between the sexes. The Zimbabwe respondents, on the other hand, viewed males to be their most ineffective teachers. The opposite was true for the American respondents who listed their most effective teachers to be female (70%). Ineffective American teachers were viewed even more strongly (83%) to be female. This seeming American contradiction can probably be explained by the fact that historically the large majority of elementary teachers have been and continue to be female. Thus, to have females be in the majority in both instances should be expected. On the other hand, Botswana and Zimbabwe primary teachers are more often male. It should be noted that a contingency table analysis (chi-square) for effect of respondent's sex on sex of either effective or ineffective teachers yielded insignificant results.

Table Three

Percentage of Ineffective Teachers by Sex and by Country

	Botswana		U.S.		ZIMBABWE	
	N	% of Column	N	% of Column	N	% of Column
Male	26	50%	12	17	42	81%
Female	26	50%	58	83%	10	19%
Total	52	100%	70	100%	52	100%

Table Four

Percentage of Effective Teachers by Grade Taught and by Country

Grade Taught	Botswana N	Botswana % of Column	U.S. N	U.S. % of Column	ZIMBABWE N	ZIMBABWE % of Column
1	3	5.9%	2	3%	**	
2	0	0 %	6	9%	**	
3	2	3.9%	10	14%	**	
4	6	11.8%	11	16%	**	
5	10	19.6%	7	10%	**	
6	8	15.7%	8	11%	**	
7	22	43.1%	**	**		
Totals	51	100%	47	63%	**	

**Missing

Table Five indicates the grades in which the respondents were taught by their most effective teachers, and Table Five reveals the grades in which the ineffective teachers were most often found. As can be seen from the tables, more of the effective Botswana teachers were teaching in grade seven than in any other grade. Thirty of the fifty-one effective teachers were teaching in either of the two highest standards. The effective American teachers were more evenly distributed over the middle elementary grades, although it should be noted that many American subjects did not respond to this question. The Zimbabwe data was incorrectly collected for this question and could not be incorporated in the analysis.

Table Five

Percentage of Ineffective Teachers by Grade Taught and by Country

Grade Taught	Botswana N	Botswana % of Column	U.S. N	U.S. % of Column	ZIMBABWE N	ZIMBABWE % of Column
1	4	8%	4	6%	**	
2	2	4 %	4	6%	**	
3	12	24%	3	4%	**	
4	13	26%	8	11%	**	
5	6	12%	11	16%	**	
6	8	16%	8	11%	**	
7	5	10%	**	**		
Totals	50	100%			38	54%
**Missing						

The Botswana ineffective teachers(Table Six), on the other hand, tended to be grouped in grades three and four. It is understood that many primary school administrators in Botswana tend to assign their "better" teachers to the upper standards (especially standard seven) and their "poorer" teachers to the middle standards. The pattem of effective and ineffective teachers indicated by the respondents here suggest that there may be agreement between the students' evaluation of teachers and that of the administrators. On the other hand, the American ineffective teachers tended to cluster more at the higher grade levels possibly suggesting that more interpersonal student/teacher skills are practiced at the lower primary grades than in the upper. Again, many American respondents did not answer this question so the results should be viewed as quite tentative. The Zimbabwe questionnaire did not contain a question on this particular item.

Table Six

Percentage of Effective Teachers
by Age Group and by Country

Age	Botswana		U.S.		ZIMBABWE	
	N	% of Column	N	% of Column	N	% of Column
20-29	0	0%	17	24%	11	20%
30-39	5	9.4%	34	49%	35	65%
40-49	34	64.2%	10	15%	7	13%
50-59	14	26.4%	8	12%	1	2%
Totals	53	100%	69	100%	54	100%

Table Six strongly suggests that there is some tendency for the Botswana effective teachers to be older whereas the Zimbabwe effective were remembered as much younger. Almost two thirds of the Botswana effective teachers vere remembered as being between 40 and 49 years. However, for Zimbabwe fully 85% of the effective teachers were listed as 40 or younger. Since it would normally be expected that years of experience has some relation to age, the Botswana finding suggests that the more effective teachers are those who have had at least several years of experience. It is very puzzling to explain why the Zimbabwe effective teachers were viewed as being so much younger than the Botswana effective teachers. One can only guess that, perhaps due to the very rapid expansion of primary education in Zimbabwe which would bring in many younger teachers, there are far more young teachers and thus they would also be remembered as the most effective. Perhaps it could also have something to do with better teacher training of the younger teachers.

The American responses deviated significantly from the Botswana responses but mirrored more closely the Zimbabwe responses with respect to age. A majority (73%) of effective American teachers were viewed to be under 40 years old which contrast sharply with the Botswana responses where only 9% of the effective teachers were viewed to be under 40. This may be partially explained by viewing these responses through the cultural value prism related to youth and age. The American high value placed on youth and the general view of older age in more negative terms clashes with a more traditional value system found in Botswana where age is still revered and youth viewed with some suspicion. But the relative agreement between the American and Zimbabwe responses would not support this view unless there might be a difference in outlook

toward age between the Botswana and Zimbabwe cultures.

Table Seven

Percentage of Ineffective Teachers by Age Group and by Country

	Botswana		U.S.		ZIMBABWE	
Age	N	% of Column	N	% of Column	N	% of Column
20-29	0	0%	58	83%	13	25%
30-39	14	27.5%	9	14%	21	41%
40-49	20	39.2%	2	3%	17	34%
50-59	17	33.3%	0	0%	0	0%
Totals	53	100%	69	100%	51	100%

Table Seven displayes in even stronger terms the dichotomy between the students' perception of Botswana and American ineffective teachers and the similarity between the U.S. and Zimbabwe responses. Mirroring the age classification of effective teachers, the Botswana older teachers(40-60) are also viewed as more ineffective (72%) than those under the age of 40 (28%). But, at least, there are found to be more effective Botswana teachers (90%) in the 40-60 age range than ineffective teachers. The American ineffective teachers are viewed in even a greater majority at the very young age group of under 30 (83%) in contrast to only 24% listed as effective in this same age group. Clearly, when comparing the responses of Botswana and American students with respect to ineffective teachers, they both are consistent with their views about effective teachers. But when contrasted with each other, the Botswana clearly see their experienced teachers as much more ineffective than do the American subjects who even more clearly see their inexperienced teachers as ineffective.

Again, we find that the Zimbabwean respondents viewed younger teachers, those younger than 40, as being more ineffective (66%) than those over 40. Thus, there is much more agreement between the Zimbabwe and U.S. respondents on this question than when either group is compared to the Botswana responses.

Summary of Demographic Characteristics

By way of summary, then, it can be seen from Tables One through Six that effective Botswana teachers are more likely to have been remembered as male, teaching at the higher grade levels, and between the ages of 40-49, while their American counterpart was more often female, teaching in the middle primary grades, and under the age of 40. The Zimbabwe teachers were viewed more like the American teachers when it came to the age of the teachers, but they differed when split betwen male and female.

The ineffective Botswana teachers, on the other hand, were more likely to be remembered as having been evenly divided between male and female, teaching at the lower primary grades and somewhat younger and somewhat younger than the effective ones. The American inffective teacher was viewed as mostly female, teaching somewhat more at the higher grade levels and clearly very young. Again, the Zimbabwe ineffective teachers were characterized much more like the American ineffective teachers especially when compared by age category.

It should perhaps be noted here that, of course, relationships do not imply causality. The observations here should be understood as nothing more than descriptive---certainly nothing prescriptive can be derived from them.

Ranking of Teacher Characteristics

As noted earlier, respondents were requested to rank, in order of importance, fourteen statements which, in their opinion, contributed to the effectiveness of the teacher which they had selected. The mean of the rankings assigned by respondents here calculated for each characteristic and a combined rank order was constructed based on the calculated means. This ranking is presented in Table Six. Since the most important characteristics were ranked beginning with one, the lower the mean for each characteristic, the more important it was considered to be.

Table Eight

Mean Rankings of Characteristics Which Contribute Most Toward Teacher Effectiveness By American, Botswana and Zimbabwe Teachers

Rank Bots/US/ZIM			Characteristic	Mean Variable Bots/US/ZIM		
2	1	3	Had a friendly personality	5.4	3.6	5.1
5	2	1	Cared about individual students	6.4	3.9	4.9
8	3	6	Helped students feel good about being in his/her class being in his/her class	6.4	4.4	6.9
10	4	10	Related well to students	7.6	4.5	8.0
3	5	2	Planned lessons that were interesting and motivating to all students	5.6	4.7	5.0
9	6	8	Had good classroom control	7.1	6.5	7.6
4	7	4	Made difficult subjects understandable	6.4	7.5	5.5
1	8	5	Knew a great deal about the subjects which he/she taught	5.1	7.9	6.7
11	9	11	Was fair in marking and evaluating student work	8.7	8.9	8.8
12	10	12	Expected all students to perform well	9.4	9.1	9.0
6	11	7	Gave extra help to slow learners	6.4	9.7	7.1
7	12	9	Demanded that students work hard	7.1	10.8	7.7
14	13	14	Was not too strict with students	11.5	10.9	10.6
13	14	13	Exercised strict discipline	10.1	12.8	10.6

Pearson Product Moment Correlation (rho):
Botswana/U.S.: .57
Zimbabwe/U.S.: .75
Botswana/Zimbabwe: .92

As can be seen from table eight, the top four characteristics (the characteristics are listed according to the American ranking) have to do with the teachers personality characteristics. Teacher skills and competencies only begin to show importance at the fifth level of the ranking. It is clear that, while there is general agreement on the teacher's personality as being important with all three countries, there is more agreement between the two developing countries that personality plays a less important role than in the United States. For instance, there is almost total agreement that a "friendly personality" is very important whereas there is much less agreement on the need for the teacher to "relate well to the students" (U.S. ranking number 4)

The two items which express subject matter competency (U.S. items 7 and 8) clearly show that both Botswana and Zimbabwe respondents view subject matter competency as more important for effective teachers than the American counterparts.

In general, as the American rankings decline in importance the Botswana and Zimbabwe rankings tend to display greater dissonance with the American ranking. But the differences are marginal. It appears that the greatest difference between two rankings is between the Botswana and U.S. rankings as indicated with a correlation of .57. A somewhat greater level of agreement, as noted by a correlation of .57, appears between the Zimbabwe and U.S. rankings. Clearly, there is almost a perfect correlation (.92) between Botswana and Zimbabwe rankings.

When the respondents had completed ranking the characteristics of their most effective teachers, they were asked to repeat the process with regard to their most ineffective teachers. The same 14 characteristics were used for consideration of those factors which contributed most toward making the so-identified teachers ineffective, except that, in most cases, the statements were framed negatively instead of positively. Where a particular statement could he viewed as either negative cr positive. it was phrased the same for both the effective and ineffective teachers. Table Seven presents the rankings for the Ineffective Teachers.

Table Nine

Mean Rankings of Characteristics Which Contribute Most Toward Teacher Ineffectiveness By American, Botswana and Zimbabwe Teachers

Rank Bots/US/Zimb			Characteristic	Mean Variable Bots./US/ZIM		
7	1	7	Did not relate well to students	6.8	3.6	6.6
2	2	4	Was unable to make students feel good about being in class	5.5	4.2	5.9
1	3	1	Unfriendly personality	5.0	5.4	3.6
6	4	2	Did not care about individual students	6.1	6.0	5.8
3	5	5	Lessons were uninteresting and not motivating to students	5.8	6.3	6.4
5	6	3	Could not make difficult subjects understandable	5.9	6.8	5.9
10	7	9	Had poor classroom control	8.3	7.2	8.6
13	8	13	Did not expect all students to perform well	10.0	7.8	10.2
4	9	8	Gave no extra help to slow learners	5.9	8.2	7.2
9	10	6	Exercised strict discipline	8.2	8.7	6.6
12	11	12	Unfair in marking and evaluating student work	9.6	9.3	9.6
11	12	14	Was not too strict with students	9.4	10	11.2
8	13	10	Seemed not to know much about the subjects which taught	7.6	10.2	8.6
14	14	11	Demanded that their students work hard	10.3	10.2	8.8

Pearson Product Moment Correlation (rho):

Botswana/U.S.: .69
Zimbabwe/U.S.: .72
Botswana/Zimbabwe: .83

For the Botswana rankings it can be seen that in comparison to the mean rankings for effective teachers there was somewhat more agreement (i.e. a lower mean value) on the single most important characteristic contributing to ineffectiveness. In contrast to the ranking for effective teachers, the two highest ranked (i.e. the two most important characteristics) were personality variables rather than Instruction variables. The characteristic considered to contribute most to being an ineffective teacher (having an unfriendly personality) was the same characteristic (but of course in the opposite direction) as the one which was ranked second in the effective teachers ranking. The American ranking also displayed an even stronger view that personality variables play a dominant role in classifying ineffective teachers. The first four characteristics were personality related whereas for the Botswana subjects only the first two were similarly related to personality.

The Zimbabwe ranking also displayed a high correlation to the Botswana ranking (.83). Again, an ineffective teacher is viewed as one who is deficient in both personality and subject matter competency. The American ranking displays more emphasis on personality than either of the two African countries.

Knowledge of the subject (actually lack of knowledge of the subject) was ranked 8th by the Botswana in contrast to the top ranking it received in the effective teacher ranking. The Americans ranked it even lower in importance (13th). The Zimbabwe subjects ranked close to the middle between the Botswana and U.S. subjects.

It is clear, in any case, that ineffective teaching was seen in more personal terms by both groups than in instructional terms. While it will be observed that the mean rankings of factors contributing to ineffective teaching do not completely match those which contribute toward effective teaching it is nevertheless true that there are notable similarities. Many of those factors which appear early in the list as contributing toward making teachers effective are the same ones which, by their absence or negative demonstration, contribute toward making a teacher be considered ineffective.

A Pearson Product Moment Correlation was also calculated for the ineffective rankings by the American, Botswana and Zimbabwe subjects which followed the pattern for the effective teacher rankings, namely that the least agreement (.69 correlation) was between the Botswana and U.S. rankings, somewhat greater agreement between the Zimbabwe and U.S. rankings (.72) and the highest correlation reserved for the Botswana and Zimbabwe rankings (.83). The main difference in rankings between the two groups clearly is in the role of the personality and to a lesser extent the teachers lack of subject matter knowledge.

Summary of Findings From Rankings

It seems clear from the rankings that effective Botswana and Zimbabwe teachers were first of all knowledgeable about their subject matter and able to teach well. Having good personality and relationship skills also seem important though their absence seems tc carry greater influence in being considered effective. In general, it would appear that instructional competence is of primary consideration for being considered effective, while negative personality or relationship skills are particularly associated with ineffectiveness.

In contrast, the effective American counterparts are more clearly seen to primarily possess strong personality skills followed by good instructional skills. Also, lack of personality skills were viewed as more important by the Americans when characterizing the ineffective teachers.

One may interpret these findings from both sets of subjects as suggesting that without knowledge of the subject and being able to present good lessons one is not likely to be considered an effective teacher. On the other hand, personality/relationship variables may be a precursor of instructional competence. That is to say, though one may be knowledgeable and competent, being able to relate and having an agreeable personality is a necessary (though not sufficient) condition for good teaching. Clearly, the Americans view the personality of the teacher to be a more important variable than do the Botswana or Zimbabwe subjects.

Conclusions

Over all, the findings do not lead to clear cut conclusions, though it would appear, that several generalizations can be made.

1. Clearly, the American subjects view personality and student/teacher relationships to be a more important variable in describing the strengths of effective teachers and weaknesses of ineffective teachers. While the Botswana and Zimbabwe subjects also ranked personality characteristics quite high an even greater importance was given by the Botswana to instructional skills such as knowledge of subject matter.

2. While the correlation between rankings for both the effective and ineffective characteristics were not extremely high (less than .80) they were certainly at

the higher end of being positive and showing a higher than average level of agreement between the Botswana, Zimbabwe and American subjects. Thus, while certain characteritics were given more or less emphasis in importance as stated in number 1 above, a broad view of general agreement in describing the characteristics of an effective and ineffective teacher is also apparent. Botswana, Zimbabwe and American subjects appear to agree much more than they disagree about what is effective and ineffective teaching. Clearly, however, the two African countries are in greater agreement with their views on both effective and ineffective teachers.

3. This study appears to support the findings of Treffers(1987) with respect to the emphasis given in the USA toward personality or "pupil oriented" qualities held by effective teachers. And while Treffers compared American teachers with Netherland teachers, who ranked "task oriented" qualities much higher for effective teachers, there appears to be some parallel between the Botswana/Zimbabwe and Dutch responses especially with respect to the importance given to instructional skills for effective teachers. One could speculate that because the Botswana and Zimbabwe educational system and its training of teachers is based to a large extent on the British model, it should reflect a more traditional (European) model of effective teaching than is found in the USA.

It remains to be seen whether these findings can be replicated with other groups of individuals who may be at different levels in their careers or professional training. This survey was based completely on students who were themselves both experienced(Botswana and Zimbabwe) and inexperienced pre-teachers(Americans) involved in teacher training. It may by that educators allow their own particular perceptions or even biases to influence their responses. It would be of particular interest to compare the responses of non-educators with those reported here. It would also be of interest to compare characteristics of remembered effective secondany teachers with those of effective primary teachers.

In this paper we have surveyed those characteristics which unversity students from three diverse countries, Botswana, Zimbabwe and the United States, enrolled in a pre-service elementary teacher training course, associate with remembered effective and ineffective teachers. It is clear from the responses that both personality factors and instructional factors are important with the Americans giving greater weight to the personality factors. These results should stress the importance of personality factors in both cultures as well as pointing out the different emphasis given to personality characteristics in both countries. This general

conclusion should be particularly important to American educators working in teacher training programs in Botswana, Zimbabwe and perhaps in other developing countries. That is, American educators need to be aware that the importance placed on student/teacher relationships in American society is of somewhat lesser importance to Botswana and Zimbabwe students who view instructional skills, especially knowledge of subject matter, as more important for elementary teachers.

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